

A SOCIALIST COMMENTARY ON COLONIAL AFFAIRS

Venture

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Incorporating Empire

WHEN the Trusteeship Council concluded its fourth session a few weeks ago at Lake Success, one of the specific requests which it formulated concerned the British Trust Territory of Tanganyika. The request was a charmingly simple one. As reported in the Press, 'The Council urged that efforts to end racial discrimination be intensified by appropriate legislation and other measures.' 'Appropriate legislation and other measures'! It all seems so easy when clothed in officialese. But is it? What is the situation in Tanganyika that has given rise to such a statement from the United Nations?

Tanganyika has been brought before the court of world opinion at this moment because it happens to be a Trust Territory under the supervision of the Trusteeship Council. A Visiting Mission was sent there last autumn on behalf of the Council, and has now published its report. This was the first Mission to be sent by UNO to investigate conditions on the spot in a Trust Territory, and it will be followed by another Mission this year, to the Trust Territories in West Africa. The team consisted of a Frenchman, a Chinese, an Australian and a Costa Rican. Whatever the calibre of these men—and we can claim no personal knowledge—they certainly brought fresh minds to an extraordinarily complicated situation. Their Report, we suspect, is not viewed favourably by the official British representatives at Lake Success, who

SPOTLIGHT ON TANGANYIKA



have been holding over a full discussion on it until the Tanganyika Government should have had ample opportunity to comment. But official objections are as milk and water compared with the heady wine of the local settlers' indignation. From the brief reports coming from East Africa it is clear that Europeans not only in Tanganyika, but in Kenya—where they feel themselves equally under fire—are now violently up in arms; UNO and all its works are being loudly execrated; and the Colonial Office is being asked to put an end to all this tomfoolery and make a categorical statement about its intentions.

We need not look far to guess the cause of the furious outburst among white men on the spot. Whatever might be said about the accuracy of all the details in the Trusteeship Report, the Mission put its finger on the crux of the matter. There are sharp racial divisions in East Africa, under which the European has emerged as the 'dominant' section, and the Africans as the menial and under-privileged, even though Africans constitute at least 99 per cent. of the population. No one suggests that this has happened through wickedness or malice on anyone's part. It is the natural consequence of the settlement in a backward country of a skilled, intelligent European minority. Even though immense tracts of land may not be alienated, the non-Natives actually possess nearly two millions out of the 6,334,000 acres of the productive area. Almost all the commerce and industry is in the hands of Europeans and Indians; the sisal industry, which is the main money-maker, is mainly under European control. On the Legislative Council of 29, there are 14 Unofficial Members of which only four are Africans—and these have been there only since 1945. None of the senior posts in the administration are held by Africans, even though an increasing number are being appointed now to fairly important posts. On Government Boards and Committees there are few, if any, African representatives. Education is organised in watertight racial compartments, European education being at a much more advanced level than African. Tanganyika's valuable minerals are being exploited by European companies, and the Mission was doubtful whether a fair proportion of the proceeds was being retained in the country.

Looking at all these facts, the Mission did not apportion blame, but suggested that European colonisation should, henceforth, be curtailed and kept under the strictest control at 'the barest minimum consistent with the development of the Territory and the present and long-range needs and interests of the African inhabitants.' It is

this which has stirred the bitter feelings of the settlers who, in their heart of hearts, wish to control the country and to increase their numbers into a powerful European community.

That European colonisation in East Africa should be strictly limited has long been the policy of the British Labour Party. Since Labour has been in office, a pretty firm stand has been taken against new immigration and colonisation, but immigrants have nevertheless continued to come, and a certain amount of land has continued to be alienated to them. What the Colonial Office has tried to do has been to limit colonisation while pursuing a policy of economic and political development for the Africans, the idea being that when the African community has consolidated its strength, it will be able to make its own terms with the Europeans.

How to accomplish this is a real dilemma for the Colonial Office, which critics may be prone to under-estimate. If East Africa is to have the money to finance all the education and social services and economic development which it so obviously needs, it would be fool-hardy to begin by killing the geese which lay the golden eggs. Whether we like it or not, these 'geese' happen to be European skill, and European enterprise. The economy of the country hangs to-day on the Europeans, and the Indians (who are perhaps even less popular among Africans), and any step likely to drive them into panic and non-co-operation, will immediately redound to everyone's economic disadvantage. Nor should the settlers be treated with less than justice; they were brought there in past days with Government agreement, even with encouragement; many of them were born on the spot and have as much right to consider themselves 'Africans' as have their black-skinned compatriots. It is considerations such as these which prevent the Colonial Office from drastic action.

And yet the result is an increasingly untenable and uneasy situation. The Europeans become entrenched and strident in their claims. The non-Europeans, as they grow in education and political consciousness, feel ousted and oppressed in their own land. The outsider coming to Tanganyika, as the UNO Mission did, cannot but observe the existence of a rigid caste society, based on that most deplorable of all social divisions—a race division. And all the while, coloured men are growing in political stature on the other side of the Continent; and Indians and Ceylonese are now fully independent partners in the Commonwealth. East Africans know this, and the sense of injustice deepens. Nor can the position reflect proudly on Britain's reputation as a Colonial Power.

NIGERIA CONSULTS THE PEOPLE

THE making of Nigeria's new constitution is proceeding with despatch and *eclat*. The great problem, our readers will remember, was not the details of the constitution, but who was to decide it, and how were Nigerians to be fully 'consulted'? When the Legislative Council met in March, the Chief Secretary proposed that it should appoint a Select Committee which would advise on 'the steps to be taken for a review of the present constitution, with special reference to the methods to be adopted for ascertaining the views of all sections of the population.' The Select Committee included all Unofficial Members of the Council (including Zik) and seven Senior Officials. Within a fortnight this Committee had reported unanimously, and their Report had been unanimously adopted by the Legislative Council. The proposals for consultation, which are now to be put into effect, are nothing if not far-reaching. Discussions are to take place at three levels—the provincial level, then at the regional level and then at the centre. In each Province all Native Authorities and other bodies, right down to village meetings, will be consulted, and their views taken to a Provincial Conference, which will be as representative as possible. Representatives from the Provincial Conferences will then go to Regional Conference where the Members of the Regional Houses of Assembly, together with the provincial representatives and other suitable persons, will study the views of the Provincial Conferences and make further proposals. Each Regional Conference will then send three representatives to be members of a small Drafting Committee which will prepare recommendations for consideration by a General Conference. A few Senior Officials will advise this Drafting Committee. The General Conference will consist of all Africans—representatives up from the Regions, and also the present Unofficial Members of the Legislative Council, making a total of 53. There will be an independent Chairman—probably the Attorney-General. This General Conference will submit its recommendations for debate in the Regional Houses and the Legislative Council, and only then will they be submitted to the Governor and the Secretary of State for the Colonies. Here is a highly complicated arrangement, and no one can prophesy how it will work out. But will any Nigerian be able to say, after this, that he has not been 'consulted'?

VACANT JOBS

AT the end of 1948 there were 495 Senior posts in the West African Colonial Service lying vacant through lack of suitable applicants. This figure showed an increase of 19 over the vacancies at the end of May. It is a serious position. Africans are now being trained in large numbers for the senior posts, but it must be some years before they have received their degrees and the special training needed for high responsibility. In the meantime, fewer Europeans are being attracted into what seems to be an insecure career, and many are asking for transfers from West Africa to East Africa, where the prospects appear to them more stable. There are also complaints that the expatriation allowances for Europeans are insufficient, but they can only be increased with the concurrence of the local Legislative Councils with their African majorities. African opinion must now face the fact that if experts from abroad are wanted, they will have to be paid attractive salaries and promised some security. Development plans are also being held up through lack of staff. 'Who claims these highly skilled men back from Nigeria when once they had been drafted hither?' asks the *West African Pilot* indignantly. No one claims them back. They just happen to be able to get better paid jobs under more secure and comfortable conditions at home. It is an unpleasant situation for Africans to digest, but it is no good running away from it and blaming that perennial scapegoat 'the Government.'

THE SAME OLD STORY

IN August, 1948, a Commission of Inquiry was appointed to study the sugar industry in Trinidad. There has long been discontent in this industry—the sugar producers suffering from insecure prices, and workers suspecting the Companies' profits and complaining of working and living conditions. The Commission's Report now reveals a pretty bad state of affairs. The British Ministry of Food has been purchasing Trinidad sugar since the war on a bulk-purchase contract. The price of sugar has thus been controlled, but the price of imported food and other commodities has remained uncontrolled. There is no satisfactory cost-of-living index, but the Agricultural Society estimated that necessities of life have increased from 300 to 500 per cent. compared with 1939, whereas sugar prices have risen by 150 per cent., and this is also upsetting the Trade Unions to such an extent as to be described as 'one of

the main causes of industrial unrest and discontent in Trinidad.' There are also complaints that dollar restrictions force Trinidad to buy in Britain even though it could obtain some articles much more cheaply from Canada and the United States. The Government is criticised for doing far too little to provide decent houses for workers; in particular there seems to be no effective local government bodies on whom this task could be devolved. Insufficient negotiating machinery exists between employers and workers, and it is disappointing still to find it necessary for a Commission of Inquiry to suggest the establishment of a Wages Council. The Commission was concerned to learn that 90 per cent. of the inhabitants of the sugar areas were infected with hookworm, and explained absenteeism and idleness as the result 'of sheer debility due to ill health.' 'In San Domingo,' comments the Report, 'it is an offence to walk bare-footed' (hookworm infection being contracted through the feet). West Indians are not being sufficiently trained for responsible posts in the factories and the field, and this is a further cause of discontent. Enormous profits are not being made by the sugar companies—about 2.98 per cent. net dividends over the last four years. It is all rather disheartening. For so many years there have been inquiries into these West Indian industries, and yet the same old problems persist. Are the people insufficiently organised to press their needs? Or is the Trinidad Government too weak to act?

AFRICANS SPEAK OUT

SINCE the 'white' Conference on Central African Federation last February, African opinion has been mobilising itself. From S. Rhodesia, N. Rhodesia and Nyasaland fears and protests are being expressed, and although the people are being advised by some of their own leaders as well as by the interested Europeans, not to jump to rash conclusions, there is already a surprising volume of adverse opinion. In Nyasaland the African Congress plans to convene a special meeting in April to discuss the whole question. In N. Rhodesia Sir Stewart Gore Browne, together with the two African representatives on the Legislative Council, have been stumping the country to explain the Victoria Falls Conference resolutions to meetings of Africans. They seem to have met with a certain amount of reserve, which reached outspoken criticism at Mufilira, where the proposals were rejected out of hand. 'As we are just on the threshold of our development' ran the resolution adopted in this town,

'and as the power exercised by the Colonial Office over N. Rhodesia and Nyasaland will be withdrawn, we refuse to accept the proposals. . . . We still believe that the Colonial Government is better for us than the paradise of the Unofficials of N. Rhodesia and the Prime Minister of S. Rhodesia.' Africans from S. Rhodesia have issued a leaflet warning their fellows up north against jumping 'from the frying-pan into the fire. It is the colour of your skin that bars you from any civil rights in S. Rhodesia irrespective of your social standing. Therefore our African neighbours should see that they are not lulled to jump from Purgatory into Dante's Inferno.' Africans from N. Rhodesia and Nyasaland are favouring amalgamation of these two territories to the exclusion of S. Rhodesia. There is now talk of a Conference of African delegates from the three territories to discuss the whole matter fully. Sir Stewart Gore-Browne and his two African colleagues are sponsoring the idea and have suggested that a fund be opened to provide travelling expenses. 'We would be glad to open the fund with a joint subscription of £6,' they state, but a warning comes from S. Rhodesia against Africans attending any meeting under the leadership of Sir Stewart Gore-Browne.

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committees on to which African workers could be elected for discussions on living conditions, methods of training and the organisation of the work.

The Survey Team is wary in setting out its conclusions. It emphasises time and again that the survey was a pilot one only; the railway employee may not have been typical of all African labour; the time was too short; and the team did not comprise all the expert knowledge needed. One could certainly have wished for a deeper inquiry on the psychological side. What are these mental reactions which are so obviously disturbing the African peoples? We cannot hope to settle any of these problems until we understand, at least, this. Perhaps the most valuable section of the Report is the medical one—with Dr. Trowell's description of the nature and courses of 'malignant malnutrition.' Here, at least, is something on which remedial action could at once be put in hand.

** African Labour Efficiency Survey. Colonial Research Publications No. 3. Published by H.M.S.O. 2s.*

WHY IS AFRICAN LABOUR 'INEFFICIENT'?

SOMETHING will have to be done about East Africa. It is easy enough to pass a resolution for 'appropriate legislation and other measures' to be taken; but broad and wise statesmanship is required if the revolution which East Africa needs is to be carried through—and carried through *without* the destruction of the economic framework which already exists there. We are not satisfied that this statesmanship is yet emerging from the Colonial Office; and—as the Mission itself observed—even where 'appropriate measures' have been proposed from London, they have not been carried out, effectively or enthusiastically, on the spot. We have always maintained that, in the end, British colonial policy will stand or fall by what it achieves in this difficult part of Africa. Certainly at the moment it is on East Africa that the eyes of the United Nations, and through them the world, are turned.

We all know the criticisms that are levelled against the African worker. He is said to be lazy, inefficient, irresponsible; able to attain only a fraction of the achievements of the Asian, and an even smaller fraction of the European's output. Is this true? and if it is, why? The Colonial Office has been looking for an answer. In 1947 it appointed an African Labour Efficiency Survey, under the direction of Dr. C. H. Northcott, assisted by a team of experts (though unfortunately an anthropologist could not be found) who studied the situation among 6,000 Africans employed by the Kenya-Uganda Railway in Nairobi. Their Report* is now before us.

There seems no doubt that, expressed as an immediate fact, the efficiency of African workers is low. Relative outputs of Africans, Asians and Europeans are wholly to the disadvantage of the Africans. But Dr. Northcott's team refused to accept any comparison as final, and indeed abandoned the attempt to make comparisons because of the lack of satisfactory material. Instead, they concentrated on the question 'Why should African efficiency be as low as it is?'

This report suggests three important answers. First, there is the serious handicap from which African workers suffer—absence of education, both primary and technical. The provision of schools for African children is described as 'meagre,' and a good workman cannot be made from this untrained material. Then comes the question of health, which is tied up with malnutrition. It is not so much that the African has

bad or insufficient food, but his meals are badly timed through unsatisfactory working arrangements, and Dr. Trowell, the medical expert in the team, recorded his view that 'the inability of the African to obtain meals when natural hunger occurs is a serious factor in his inefficiency.' Not only that, but many Africans suffer from what Dr. Trowell calls 'malignant malnutrition,' contracted by bad feeding in childhood, which creates chronic lesions in certain of the organs. The effect of this can never be repaired in after-life, and 'the listless, apathetic and inefficient Africans of farm and field, of *shamba* and street-corner, bear upon them the brand of malignant malnutrition.'

The third handicap is a psychological one—the failure of the European to understand African attitudes and motives, and through this failure, to lose their confidence. 'The view is recorded that African confidence in the European is slipping.' Strikes and disorders break out without warning. Dr. Trowell states: 'A doctor . . . can assert that the cause of a poor work-output is more mental than physical. Malnutrition and disease play their part, but sitting and talking with the workers in their homes, one became aware of a very grave discontent which, unless constructively guided and relieved, may well threaten the civil peace.'

Proposals for Action

What is to be done in these difficult circumstances? The Report concludes that Africans should, in the first instance, be thoroughly trained for the jobs they are to carry out. And there must be good personal supervision, which means more than the immediate oversight of a body of men. The job must be properly planned and adequate equipment must be provided. Next, there should be an effective wage incentive. A graded system of time-wages is suggested, so that a due reward could be assigned to skill, and greater skill should be seen to be the target for achievement. Such a graded wage system has not been adequately used in the past. Further, wages are too low. The investigators found discontent concerning the level of wages in relation to cost of living. Even though in real value wages may not have fallen compared with 1939, there has been a widening gap in the rates for semi-skilled and skilled labour, leaving unrest in its train. And finally, Africans are not consulted sufficiently. There should be workshop

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COMPAN

Mr. Hoffman, the head of E.C.A., has included a section in a recent report to Washington which takes the form of a list of strategic minerals found in the Colonial areas, and the present chances of delivery. At the same time, the head of the new Division of Colonial Development set up by the State Department is none other than Dr. Isaiah Bowman, former President of Johns Hopkins College, who had dark things to say on his last visit to Britain about the 'unilateral' surrender of dependent areas by Labour Britain. As for U.S. Business, we are told that 'the special anxiety of business men is for an insurance fund of somewhere between \$500m. and \$1,000m. to guarantee them against the risks of their investment.' More than ever, in fact, it is necessary to guard the human side of material colonial development, dismissed as 'sentimental' by the managers. . . For its part, Soviet Russia invited Dr. R. E. C. Armattee, the Ewe scientist from Londonderry, to fly to its 'Cultural and Scientific' Conference in free New York, perhaps remembering his revelation in 1946 to the Sunday newspapers that the U.S.S.R. has the atomic bomb. All in all, Britain still has certain advantages to the people of the tropics, as a centre of power, for she is strong enough, and weak enough, to maintain a sincere interest in harmonising freedom and development. The supplementary estimates this year showed grants of £10m. to North Borneo, Hong Kong, Somaliland, Malaya, Honduras, and St. Lucia; while a report on fish by Dr. C. F. Hickling, *Pedro the Fisherman*, shows 21 Fishery Officers appointed all round the Empire since 1945, with results that include a yield increased by 70 per cent. on Hong-Kong junks now using engines (the increase is even larger on the Gold Coast) and fish flown by air to stock the upland streams in Malaya and the Sudan. To end with pleasanter news than we began about American aid, we might note that the fishermen of Fiji have also been assisted this time by new American techniques in night-fishing; and it was American scientists, working with British scientists in Malaya, that developed *chloromycetin*, a drug for scrub typhus. Other Americans are visiting both East and West Africa, to discuss methods by which their technology can assist the war against trypanosomiasis, malaria, and all the insect-borne diseases of men and cattle.

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Central development must not blind us to advances in the regions, where the vital courses are really shaped for the transformation of the colonial world. Thus in the Caribbean a preparatory committee is framing proposals for a federation of primary producers, with a possible Trade Commissioner in the United Kingdom. Meanwhile the West Indies may import more goods from the hard currency area of Canada, which is no light matter, since Canada supplied one-third of all imports in 1946 (\$61,210,000) before the ban on dollar purchases. Jamaica has also protested successfully against buying coal in the United Kingdom (instead of the United States), and against buying tallow in the Argentine at £234 a ton, compared with the American price of £80 a ton. Over on the American continent, the Guianas, British, Dutch and French, are pooling technical information. In that great union of peoples, Nigeria, a region

in itself, £500,000 is going from Government to examine industrial proposals, £100,000 for village layouts, and a total allocation of £3m. made to schools, including over £1.6m. for grants-in-aid, mainly for mission teachers' salaries. The funds to the credit of the new Marketing Boards may well total £36m. by the end of the year. In Central Africa, now being visited by the Secretary of State, the Government of Northern Rhodesia has bought out the Victoria Falls and Transvaal Power Co. In Malaya, despite all the troubles, rubber production in 1948 reached an all-time record of 698,000 tons. In Ceylon, a new Corporation, totalling £1.8m., is to develop plum-bago, with Lords Brabazon and Sempill on the board and Mr. J. J. Denny. There are troubles in the island's co-operative movement, which expanded too rapidly in the war to 5,000 stores, when private traders fled, and is now undergoing all the strains of rigidity, the occasional graft and inefficiency, implicit in so large a structure.

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The college at Fourah Bay in Sierra Leone, whose life has been revived owing to the weight of local patriotism called forth on its behalf, is to have three departments, a university department in arts and commerce with the traditional theology, a teacher-training department, and a technical department, all under separate heads with a principal over all. Ibadan has obtained R. K. Gardiner as head of its extra-mural work, while King's College in Lagos is to have a Nigerian principal. In East Africa, it is hoped that Makerere College will be linked to London University from next year. The United Nations are apparently considering a general African university, serving Trust Areas in particular. Over in the Caribbean, the School of Industrial Arts in Puerto Rico is offering 30 scholarships to men and women from other islands. Meanwhile, in mass education, although the UNESCO supervisor has been withdrawn from Nyasaland, great progress is reported from Sierra Leone, Nigeria and Northern Rhodesia. The first and last of these are mainly missionary: for example, the Sierra Leone Christian Literature Committee has sold 20,000 books in a year among the Mende and Temne, while Mrs. Hope Hay of the United Missions continues her great work in the copperbelt. This has now spread to the most distant areas like Lake Bangweulu and the Luapula, where more women than men are reported as succeeding. *Let the blind see*, as the campaign song goes.

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The unfortunate Gold Coast has been the centre of another storm, this time about proposals, to limit non-African immigration, and especially to stop all non-African retail trade. This is apparently regarded by European interests as an attack upon them, although the main victims must be the Syrian traders. As a result

POINTS



of the protests, the rules are being modified. Westminster also saw a series of attacks on the gold-taxation policy of the Government. It is claimed that the mines who employ 38,000 Africans, yield £1,250,000 to the general revenue, and that wages have risen 40 per cent. since 1939 (against 70 per cent. in Britain). They therefore claim a reduction in the taxes, otherwise threatening that the marginal producers among the 12 active mines must close down. The House of Lords also severely rated the Administration for other things, including the dangerous ambiguities of the Coussey Committee, which is not a Constituent Assembly, but a body to advise on further constitutional changes within the framework of general policy. . Meanwhile, despite all the enflaming fires, despite, above all, swollen shoot, the cocoa crop for 1948 was the second highest in history.

In Sierra Leone, Dr. R. S. Easmon has founded a Socialist Party. In the Gold Coast, Ashanti chiefs on the Coussey Constitutional Committee are being threatened with death if they do not obtain independence, and one had his car set on fire. In Nigeria, the Yoruba states continue to be convulsed by change. In East Africa, the Afrikaner Bouwer, a member of the Central Assembly, demands a United States of Africa based on segregation. In Buganda, telegrams and demonstrators of the nationalist Bataka party, said to represent the hereditary chiefs left out of the 'feudal' agreement of 1900 with the British, demand the dismissal of all Ministers and *sasa* chiefs. In Central Africa, R. Welensky, who relies increasingly on the support of Afrikaner elements in the copperbelt, saw Dr. Malan in January, and is said to have discussed a United States of Southern Africa. In the Union, Captain G. F. Strydom suggests jackal-proof fences between the European areas and the Native Reserves. Here Malan has at last got a majority in the Senate, after the United Party (Smuts) has expelled a reactionary Afrikaner, Brink. Senator Ballinger, who represents the Natives, has his face slapped by the Nationalist, Pieterse, who said it was about horse-racing. . . There is now an attempt to unseat both the Senator and his wife, on the grounds that he came from the British Labour Movement, and she originally from Birmingham. In Natal, two Nationalists would not take the oath of loyalty to the King. Face-slapping also seems prevalent in Mauritius, where the President of the Labour Party, Rozemont, was attacked by the brother of the French consul. In the Seychelles, another attack, this time in the courts, has been made on the coloured reformer, C. E. Collet. There is in fact unrest in the Colonies. . . .

There are some unpleasant signs of a social kind beginning to appear in tropical societies, partly as a result of the policy of encouraging tourists, with organised rhinoceros-charges (Kenya) and a 'first-class hotel' going up in Uganda, as well as hotel schemes in many other parts, Nyasaland, Zanzibar, and West Africa, to quote only a few. The most blatant example of this differential living is shown in 'independent' Jamaica, where a whole hive of very rich persons, mostly connected with the theatre and 'glamour' enterprises—like Lord Beaverbrook, Ivor Novello, Noel Coward, Jean Batten the airwoman, and others—have settled on the shores of the north coast around Montego Bay, where local capitalists like the Syrian Issa have set up hotels which retail hospitality at £12 a day. Apart from the closing of some of the most lovely foreshores in the island, and immobilising building labour needed for housing schemes like the Trench Town project, the foundation of such a green Riviera has its social consequences on the manners of the people. In Bermuda, out of 35,560, no less than 1,000 are officially listed as housemaids. Again, much of this movement of residential settlers (temporary or permanent) is taking place in areas with low income tax, and their example is being followed by companies. For example, the Central Line Sisal Estates of Tanganyika have transferred themselves bodily to East Africa, where the rates are far cheaper than the United Kingdom. Incidentally, the sisal industry, which is booming, seems to be a good thing for its 'barons.' One such, G. F. Hitchcock, is paid a salary of £2,000, and 5% per cent. on profits which happened to be £272,101 last year. This reward of at least £15,000 a year seems a little disproportionate even though it may be the result of a lucky accident, the post-war demand for sisal. Nor is this exploitation limited to the rich, as is shown by the sad fate of a cafe proprietor in Eastbourne, who fled with her three children from a Britain dominated by Labour, only to find that in Mombasa 'the Indians have all the trade and the heat is unbearable.'

It takes all sorts to make a world, and it may be as well to remember here a typical Catholic missionary, the Reverend Father Joseph Moreau, who died last January after 59 years in Africa, 46 of them continuously among the Tonga in Northern Rhodesia, to whom he introduced sledges, oxen, ploughs, a farmers' handbook written by himself, and a school where they could learn to read it, knowing its value to peasants like those he left in his native Brittany.

The third paragraph of the last *Compass Points* contained a misprint—it referred to a *normal* problem for Socialists instead of a *moral*. It is to be hoped that the two terms are largely synonymous for Socialists, but the mistake should nevertheless be recorded.

COLONIAL OPINION . . .

Trade Unions in Malaya

The first conference of the new Malayan Trade Union Congress met at Kuala Lumpur in March. In welcoming the delegates Mr. V. M. N. Menon, member of the Federal Legislative Council and Secretary of the All-Malayan Estates Workers Union said:—

'This conference is historic in the sense that never before have independent and legal trade unions in Malaya held a conference of this nature. This conference is also an important one because we have present delegates from trade unions catering for all types of workers—clerical, industrial, occupational, as well as Government. It is significant that we can meet freely to-day and talk about our common problems in spite of the Emergency. . . .

I ask you to realise that the biggest enemy we, members and true champions of the trade union movement, have to face at the moment are those forces of disruption who, if they have their way, will not only prevent any opportunity for democratic progress but will dominate and dictate the policies of the free trade union movement which is now beginning to grow in Malaya. As responsible people, we must give every assistance to restore law and order, and create conditions whereby the workers can look forward with justice and confidence to social improvements.'

Resolutions adopted included 'that the Congress should be all-Malayan in character and fully representative of men and women, irrespective of class or colour,' the English language to be made a compulsory subject in vernacular schools and vernacular languages compulsory in English schools. A resolution passed without amendment said, 'In the opinion of the conference no employee should be dismissed from his employment without proper reasons for his dismissal being given.' Resolutions concerning better housing for workers, introduction of old age pensions, a central Malayan workers' pension fund, and trade union representatives as unofficial members of State Councils, were all referred to a committee composed of a lawyer representing a clerical and technical workers union, a railway mechanic, an estate worker and a Malay representative of a customs union.

The meeting passed unanimously a resolution affirming 'faith in the principles of voluntary and peaceful negotiation in all industrial and occupational disputes and recommending to Government the adoption of a realistic and sympathetic attitude in dealing with the grievances of workers.'

Straits Times, February 28, 1949.

Central African Federation

Letter from a Nyasaland African

As you would expect, we, the Africans of Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia, are opposed to the Federation.

We do not want the Federation. We do not want to be cut off from the United Kingdom, just at the time when the Government is beginning to give us practical lessons in government, by creating Provincial Councils and Protectorate and Representative Councils. If we are now handed over to the European settlers, by granting

them this scheme, what will happen? The whole concept of preparing Africans for self-government will simply be dropped. Any government formed under the Federation will be dominated by the attitude of the European settlers of Southern Rhodesia, who will form, by far, the largest majority of Europeans of the three territories. European settlers of Southern Rhodesia make no bones of what they think of us, the Africans. They have never pretended that they are interested in teaching us anything, let alone preparing us for self-government any time in the future. To them, we are only good for menial service and attendance on Europeans. And if the Government of the United Kingdom hands us over to them on any pretext, we have absolutely no delusions at all. At least the enlightened Africans of Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia, especially the former.

Moreover, we do not want to help Southern Rhodesia to reach the status of a Dominion, in order to enslave us, by adding our numerical strength to her present population. For we know very well that Sir Godfrey Huggins has been hankering after Dominion status, because then he could do as he liked with the Africans of Central Africa without any fear of public censure from this country. He wants to be in the same position as the rulers of the Union of South Africa, who enjoy absolute power over the lives of the Africans there.

Scholarships Abroad

Letter from an African

As you have pointed out in your editorial . . . there is a fear that African students who go to India—and probably those who go to America—may turn 'Red': but this is purely a matter of conscience and self-control of any individual student, for any student who goes to Britain as a Government scholar may equally well become Communist. There is no evidence to justify a general charge that all other students in American and Indian Universities will become Communists and anti-British.

This statement alone cannot persuade the educationally-thirsty Africans to refuse the generous offer of the Indian Government. They have accepted—and will continue to accept on a large scale—the scholarships offered to them for various professions. Your editorial invited the attention of the Government to the exodus to American and Indian Universities (this year's Indian scholarships are now nearing 45) with a particular request for restrictions as regards selections, passports, etc. But from my own point of view, I think the Government will act unwisely if it follows this suggestion, and putting bans and restrictions will raise a large volume of African discontent. It could only be fair and just if the Government followed the footsteps of the Indian Government, by offering scholarships on a larger scale to send more Africans to Britain.

The Indian Government has given a lead in promoting friendship and race relations, and Africans must receive this benefit with gratitude and enthusiastic appreciation.

This whole problem of granting scholarships for Africans to study abroad in various professions, but particularly for African journalists, who have so far only gained entrance to Indian and American Universities, is a direct challenge—which needs a speedy reply from the Member for Education.

JATO KOBIERO.
East African Standard, February 4, 1949.

Following on the recent rioting between Africans and Indians in Natal a Commission of Enquiry has been taking evidence as to the causes of the trouble. We give extracts from some of the evidence.

Native Clergyman's evidence

The Rev. Alpheus Hamilton Zulu said that there could be no peace between Indians and natives while the Europeans continued to treat the Indians preferentially. Until natives were given the same opportunities as Indians, they would continue to fight with them and not the Europeans. He was speaking on behalf of the Durban Branch of the Natal Bantu Ministers' Association which, he said, represented nearly all native churches in Natal.

His organisation believed the riots to be due to Indian exploitation of the natives' disadvantages, the dissatisfaction among natives caused by lack of housing, opportunity and family life; the increasing solidarity of native nationalism because of the privileges denied to them.

'All this,' he said, 'has been happening to a people who are intensely proud of their race and nationality. The fear by Europeans of African progress had led them to realise more and more that their salvation is in their own hands. Several obstacles prevent them from a free exploitation of opportunities. As a result they suffer from a sense of frustration. When the more ambitious and industrious African gains no advantage from his industry and intelligence he turns to his own people, so that together they may break the shackles that bind them.'

'We believe,' said Mr. Zulu further, 'that culturally, especially in terms of Western culture, Europeans are superior to us, but we feel that since we belong to a different group they cannot always be right in knowing what is best for us. We believe, therefore, that as a race we ought to have a share in determining how we shall live, where we shall live, and what things are good for us.'

Zulu Workers complaint

Zulu Penugulu, leader of the Natal Zulu Workers' Union, blamed the Government for the recent clashes. 'This land of ours is in great confusion,' he said. 'It is a land which has been steeped in blood. I blame the Governments of both the English and the Afrikaans-speaking sections, for, as far as the Government is concerned, there is discrimination between the races. No races may live together amicably here, because the laws of the Government are the very things that are inciting the races against each other. If an Indian, a native and a coloured go together to ask for an increase in wages, the native alone will be denied it.'

Mr. Webb of the Race Relations Institute

'It is clear to us,' said Mr. Maurice Webb, 'that the Bantu people are not only losing patience with the responsible authorities but, what is worse, they are losing confidence in the good faith of the Europeans.'

Mr. Webb said that 25 years of race relations' work led him to sound this warning on behalf of the institute—if race relations continued to deteriorate it would not be long before the stage was reached in which the voice of reason would not be heeded by the non-Europeans. The period in which honourable compromise was possible was drawing to a close. This period could only be extended by a new spirit of goodwill.

South Africa, March 5 and 12, 1949.

ONCE FAIR CITY

'Tis done—but yesterday,
The palaces of crowned kings;
And now a chaos of hard clay:
Sleeping on the abyss,
Without a surge.

'Tis Benin, Oh! Benin—the might of yore,
A fair red City;
Crowned with ancient majesty:
Gracefully reclining,
Down the slopes of Oguola fame.

That City I oft remember,
With gallant sons all in array;
Rising in clouded majesty:
Such graceful grandeur clothed the City
Of Benin—with radiant splendour.

'Tis done—but yesterday,
The palaces of crowned kings;
And now a chaos of hard clay:
Sleeping on the abyss,
Without a surge.

Moru Giwa-Osagie.

Sapele, Nigeria.

CORRESPONDENCE

To the Editor of *Venture*.

March 19, 1949.

Dear Madam,

Swollen Shoot Cocoa Disease in the Gold Coast

In the February edition of *Venture* under the heading of Compass Points, paragraph No. 5, mentions that 'Mealy bugs bring the virus from older forest trees.'

The mealy bug is controlled in East Africa by a parasite, and it was found years ago in the district from which I write that when we sprayed coffee trees with sodium arsenite we destroyed the mealy bug parasite, with the result that the mealy bug appeared as a big infestation, a disease which had not appeared to worry our coffee trees before. When sodium arsenite spraying was discontinued the mealy bug gradually disappeared, and it was considered, correctly, that the mealy bug parasite had started to function again. Thereafter the Kenya Government sent Government officers to this district to collect these parasites and cultivated them in the laboratories there. When they had a sufficient number these parasites were distributed to Kenya coffee farmers who had suffered badly from mealy bug and on whose farms apparently there were formerly no parasites. I understand that the method is quite successful and is still going on.

If the mealy bug is the cause of the trouble, cutting down and replanting will not adjust the matter, but the introduction of the parasite will very quickly do so.

Yours faithfully,

W. Sanger

Fort Portal, Uganda.

Guide to Books

Mandates, Dependencies and Trusteeship

By H. Duncan Hall. (Stevens & Sons. 25/-.)

Mr. Duncan Hall is described as 'a distinguished Australian scholar,' who 'served for many years in responsible positions in the League of Nations Secretariat and gained insight into the inner working of the great experiment in trusteeship.' He writes this detailed description of the Mandates system on behalf of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. It is a scholarly compilation of the facts, and all the relevant documents are given in a lengthy series of appendices. There can be nothing but praise for this study on the factual side, and it might well become the text-book for future students of international trusteeship. It is on the critical side that the book is a little colourless. When it comes to appraising the achievements of the mandates system, Mr. Duncan Hall finds it impossible to express any definite judgment. 'An experienced observer,' he writes, 'crossing over from an ordinary dependency in Africa into an adjoining mandated area administered by the same power, would be hard put to it to find any real distinctions between the one and the other. . . . The label on the outside might be different, but the contents would be the same; and slight differences of colour and flavour would turn out to be traceable usually to factors quite unrelated to differences between a mandate and non-mandate administration.' Nevertheless he values the mandates in having 'set up certain criteria of good government and certain ideals for colonial administration, to which, gradually, all colonial government has tended to conform.'

For the reader who wishes to know something of the new trusteeship system under the United Nations and to compare it with the mandates this book will be a disappointment. The UNO experience is covered in a very brief concluding epilogue, which is already badly out of date. The author does little more than recognise that the trusteeship system was launched 'in an atmosphere of political tension and profound ideological division.' 'Only the future can tell,' he concludes, 'whether United Nations trusteeship is to be a lamp to light forward the way of dependent peoples, or

... a torch flame turned

By the wind back upon its bearer's hand.'

A really satisfactory study is still needed comparing United Nations' work on dependent territories, even in the few years since it began, with the twenty years of the mandates system; and also comparing the Charter with the Covenant of the League. There are immense differences already discernible and a great deal to be said. One can only hope that Mr. Duncan Hall will feel inspired to write a second volume.

R. H.

Friendship and Empire

By J. B. Danquah. Colonial Controversy Series No. 5. (Fabian Publications Ltd. 6d.)

Dr. J. B. Danquah was recently described in an official report as 'the doyen of Gold Coast politics.' He was a delegate to the first African Conference which was held in London last September. It was a great occasion, when for the first time, members of the Legislative Councils of every African Colony, Africans, Indians, Arabs, Europeans, officials and settlers, met together to discuss their common problems. Chiefs in their gorgeous

robes, Western-educated Africans and the turbaned Moslem Emirs consulted with leading British statesmen and senior officials of the Colonial Office.

In this pamphlet Dr. Danquah gives his impressions of the proceedings. In his own words the Conference 'lifted the veil behind which British imperialism had been groping for some fifty years to find the solution for the diversity of peoples living together under the urge of a single way of life—the British way of life.'

He describes the evolution of British thought from the period of colonial exploitation, which at the Conference Mr. Herbert Morrison equated with 'piracy,' to the conception of trusteeship only to find that the policy of trusteeship was not enough. From trusteeship to partnership was but a step, but Dr. Danquah argues that partnership where the partners are unequal does not make sense—and so he comes to a policy of friendship—'an empire, a commonwealth, built on friendship,' a policy supported by the British Labour Government because, as Mr. Creech Jones said, 'we all want a peaceful and stable world.'

With this political background, Dr. Danquah discusses the implementation of such a policy through local government, medical and information services, agriculture and development planning. Africa, he says, is asked to sacrifice some of her less essential dollar needs to assist our recovery. He supports this request and feels that this is the opportunity for the Gold Coast to respond generously in the cause of friendship and democracy.

The Bureau makes it clear that this pamphlet is printed at Dr. Danquah's own request. He has not asked the Bureau to identify itself with his views, only to give his impressions of the African Conference the publicity they deserve. There is a Gold Coast edition which includes the speeches of Mr. Herbert Morrison and Mr. Creech Jones, which were given at the Conference.

H. B.

A History of the Gold Coast

By W. E. F. Ward. (Allen & Unwin. 21/-.)

The knowledge and insight which distinguish this History will attract thoughtful readers, African and European. The book is a mine of factual information, with maps, appendices and bibliography; it is also a fascinating story of the various peoples who through the centuries have found their way to this part of Africa. By the art of a historian who loves his fellowmen—B.C. and A.D.—the reader is aided to think of the migrations, conquests, fusions, rise and fall of states here recorded, as part of the wider history of mankind. Consequent upon its past 'the Gold Coast is a land of great problems. But it is also a land of great hopes. It is in a difficult transitional stage.' Certain problems which to-day in West Africa confront large groups of more or less diverse peoples are shown to have points of resemblance to problems which other groups of peoples, African and European, have tackled in the past, successfully or unsuccessfully. Another historian said, sadly, not long ago, 'We learn from history that we do not learn from history.' Mr. Ward's book encourages the hope that while study of the past and of man himself contributes to better understanding of the present it will lead also to clearer thinking about our human share of responsibility for the shape of things to come.

W. D.

Parliament

Nigeria: Co-operative Movement.—Mr. Sorensen asked the Secretary of State what steps have been taken to encourage the further expansion of the Co-operative movement in Nigeria; and whether descriptive and explanatory literature in the vernacular has been issued. Mr. Creech Jones replied that the Nigerian Government have encouraged the Co-operative movement. From 1946 to the end of 1948 the number of societies rose from 580 to 956. Pamphlets, rules and bye-laws have been translated into the vernacular for each society. (March 9.)

Kenya: Civil Servants and membership of political organisations.—Mr. Skinnard asked the Secretary of State whether he would make representations to the Government of Kenya to amend its circular prohibiting civil servants from being members of political organisations, so as to bring local practice in line with that of the United Kingdom; and what was the present position in this matter in other Colonies. Replying, Mr. Creech Jones said that the circular was issued after consultation with him and that he was satisfied to allow this latitude in Kenya at the present time. As to general colonial practice in this matter, Colonial Governments do not normally allow their officials to belong to political organisations, but the practice varies from territory to territory. (March 11.)

Communist activities.—Dr. Segal asked the Secretary of State to what extent he was in receipt of regular reports on Communist activities in the Colonies. Mr. Rees-Williams said that Governors furnish the Secretary of State with regular reports, for the most part at monthly intervals, upon all political matters in the Colonies. In a supplementary question Dr. Segal asked whether the Secretary of State was aware that any perfectly honourable trade union or nationalist leader in the Colonies could now be branded as a Communist agitator by a Governor with whom he might have been in disagreement, and whether he could say what steps are being taken to obtain clear evidence of Communist affiliations in such cases. In reply Mr. Rees-Williams denied the suggestion and said that reports were based on carefully scrutinised evidence. (March 16.)

Colonial Service: West Africa.—Replying to Mr. Sorensen on vacancies in West Africa, Mr. Rees-Williams said that the following figures relate to posts in the higher grades of the Colonial Service and do not include posts which are filled by the Crown Agents or those filled by Colonial Governments from Colonial people. On the 31st May, 1948, there were 324 vacancies in Nigeria, 111 in the Gold Coast and 41 in Sierra Leone and the Gambia; total 476. On 31st December the vacancies were 324 in Nigeria, 125 in the Gold Coast and 46 in Sierra Leone and the Gambia; total 495. This shows an excess of 19, notwithstanding the fact that 230 vacancies were filled throughout West Africa during this period of seven months. (March 16.)

Tanganyika: European Land Settlement.—Replying to Mr. Skinnard Mr. Creech Jones stated that 126 individual Europeans and 11 European companies had taken up land for settlement since 1st January, 1945. Of these, 87 had been allotted ex-enemy farms. (March 17.)

Tanganyika: African settlement on ex-enemy farms.—Replying to Mr. Skinnard Mr. Rees-Williams said it is proposed to allot 30 ex-enemy farms and part of four other ex-enemy farms, totalling in all 13,359 acres, for African occupation. These farms were all to be cut up into individual peasant holdings. Certain ex-enemy farms would also be allotted for African occupation on the slopes of Meru Mountain, but the number had not yet been decided. (March 30.)

Trinidad and Tobago: Workmen's compensation.—Mr. Rankin asked the Secretary of State whether he would consider a revision of the laws of Trinidad and Tobago concerning workmen's compensation in order to bring them into line with British law. Replying, Mr. Rees-Williams said that the Government of Trinidad was appointing a Committee to revise the existing workmen's compensation legislation. (March 30.)

Colonies Exhibition: London.—In reply to a request for information from Mr. David Jones, Mr. Rees-Williams said that arrangements for the mounting of the Exhibition by the Central Office of Information were going ahead very satisfactorily. The Exhibition would be called 'Focus on Colonial Progress.' Mr. Rees-Williams made it clear that the Exhibition would not attempt to do more than give the public, by means of carefully chosen examples and striking illustrative material, a broad picture of what we and the peoples of the territories were trying to achieve together, and of the problems which have to be tackled. This would not be the kind of exhibition in which separate sections were devoted to individual territories, products or industries. Limitations of space and finance would preclude anything on these lines, but quite apart the approach which had been chosen would be more valuable for the purpose in view. A 'Colonial Month' had been arranged in London from 21st June, and the Exhibition would take place against that background. He was glad to report that a very gratifying response had already been forthcoming from the many organisations who were being invited to participate in the 'Colonial Month.' (March 30.)

Malaya: British casualties.—Replying to Air-Commodore Harvey Mr. Creech Jones said that 27 civilian European British subjects and 40 European British members of the Security Forces were killed in Malaya in the 12 months ending 17th March, 1949. (March 23.)

Nigeria: Mineral Royalties.—Mr. Sorensen asked the Secretary of State what progress had been made respecting the inquiry into the disposal of mineral royalties in Nigeria; and when a report was likely to be made public. Mr. Rees-Williams said that the matter was still under consideration. (March 16.)

Colonial Development: Loans.—Mr. H. D. Hughes asked the Secretary of State what applications had been made from this country for loans from the International Bank for reconstruction and development for use in colonial development, and what were the details. Mr. Rees-Williams said that no such applications had yet been made. Preliminary discussions had taken place between the International Bank and the Colonial Development Corporation. (March 16.)

COLONIAL TRADE UNIONS

The following table shows the number of Trade Unions registered in the Colonies, according to information available in London on March 1, 1948.—1949

Barbados	7	Hong Kong... ..	12
Bermuda	1	Singapore	155
B. Guiana	36	Fiji	17
B. Honduras	4	Mauritius	26
Jamaica	25	Gambia	4
Leeward Is.	4	Gold Coast	31
Trinidad	29	Nigeria	110
Windward Is.	11	Sierra Leone	7
Cyprus	120	Kenya	8*
Falklands Is.	1	N. Rhodesia	5†
Gibraltar	10	Tanganyika	3†
Malta	20	Uganda	2
Malaya	177	Zanzibar	4

* 6 described as inactive. † One believed moribund.
‡ 2 African.

Some of these numbers include employers' organisations as well as workers'. Many of the Unions are extremely small, and there is no information about their membership. The great majority were registered after 1940. The strongest Unions from the numerical point of view are:—

Barbados Workers Union	10,700
B. Guiana Manpower Citizens Association	5,000*
Bustamante Industrial T.U. (Jamaica)	52,331
St. Lucia Workers' Co-op. Union	20,889
All-Malayan Railway Workers Union	5,017
Govt. & Municipal Labour Union (Singapore)	6,700
Malayan Amalgamated Chinese Engineering Union of Singapore	7,500
Rubber Workers Union of Singapore	6,833
Mauritius Engineering & Technical Workers Union	5,803
Gold Coast Employees Union	5,560
Nigerian Union of Teachers	20,457
Cameroons Development Corporation Workers Union	10,850
Sierra Leone United Mineworkers Union	5,075

The most significant fact in this information is the creation of the first two African Trade Unions in N. Rhodesia. The powerful African Mineworkers Union was formed in 1948, and now has a membership of 2,500.

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May, 1949

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